1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

The crucifix early achieved status as a fetish, and the writer has known shamans to prescribe it. The same is true of prayers. In a case of epilepsy, which was, perhaps, an unfamiliar disease, the diagnostician did not call for guardian spirit songs in the usual manner, but, instead, ordered the women to sing the Rosary.

There was little attempt to reconcile the Papago and Christian theologies, although some very modern Papago now speak of I'itoi as the Papago Christ. The important supernatural adopted from the new religion was the devil. One remembers the position of this character in Spanish folklore, where he often appears, not as a dignified arch fiend, but as a coyote-like character who is always being worsted. The *tciaur* (Spanish, *diablo*) as described by the Papago, is a being of this type, gay, silly, and even kindly. He is not unlike the Papago guardian spirit, nor is he foreign to the scalp mannikins, dirty and mischievous little spirits who drive people mad with love.

We hear echoes of the scalp mannikins in the plaint of one girl who had been married to the devil in a dream. "Do not sing for me," she said to the people who came to cure her. "Only those can be free of the devil who wish to be free, and I have been married a long time." She described her supernatural spouse as old and bearded, dressed in white man's clothes and owning a car. Nightly he took her in it through the mountains and showed her the piles of unmined gold and silver. Her obsession has reminders of the scalp mannikin legend and also of the snake, who marries young people, making them neglectful of human love. A gayer vision of the devil was that of a young man who danced nightly on the mountains with devil boys and devil girls.

To another, the devil came quite in the guise of a guardian spirit. He looked "like a Mexican, with yellow face and black moustaches."(12) He appeared riding a horse, at the head of a cavalcade of devils, all singing. This arrival, announced by a song, is typical of the guardian spirits. Commonly the song is used for curing a disease sent by the spirit itself. In this case the song cured ailments of horses or the "horse disease" in humans. The linking of the white man's animal with the white man's supernatural seems very logical. Perhaps, had the Papago been left un-

[Arizona Labor Camps]

517 of necessity, much
52 more reliance is placed by harvest hands on forms of amusement requiring a minimum of equipment and space: drinking, crap shooting, card playing, sexual indulgence.

797 Cotton pickers hauled from towns each day of course
527 had recreational resources of those population centers at their disposal. They could attend church on Sunday.
[563] Farmers make little effort to provide access to churches for their employees in labor camps. For some cotton pickers racial discrimination is a problem. As one Negro woman at Marana said, "There's a church over there, all right. But we don't know if they take colored. We don't go." For Catholic Papagos as Catholic Mexican-Americans, this is no problem. But farmers don't provide Sunday transportation to trading towns. The Desert People stay in labor camps on the Sabbath, except for a few from San Xavier who can take a bus home for the day occasionally.

529 About half the Papago women in the camps do some washing on Sunday.[1] An occasional individual picks some cotton, but most simply loaf around camp with nothing
[778] constructive to occupy them. Sonora Catholics make their household shrines in a corner of their cabins, and use
527 them. In labor camps where all residents are Papagos, or
346 where there are many of the Desert People in a large camp, they take over an empty cabin to furnish a chapel where they can hold their services.[2] One far-sighted farmer who understood his Papago employees built a fine chapel for them when he constructed a new concrete block camp, but such understanding is indeed rare. Labor camp chapels seem to serve a quarter of the Papago harvest hands.[3]

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[1] Based on information from 8 families.

[2] "Sonora Catholicism antedates other Christian faiths on
529 the Reservation today, for the belief and practice of Son-
797 ora Catholics are remants of the teachings of the early
795 Spanish missionaries, acquired either directly from the pa-
346 dres, or through other Indians or Mexicans. During the
[797] generations when no Catholic clergy came to Papagueria and the nearest priests were far away in Mexico, the faithful carried on as best they could the ceremonies and devotions of the church.

[798] "With the absence of priests and the passage of time,
[799] much of the Roman creed and ritual vanished. In the Sonora Catholic churches, for example, there are no Mass, no hymns and prayers in Latin, no confession, and no marriage ceremony. Children are baptized by godparents, and the people bury their own dead." Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1949, p. 81-82.

[3] Based on information from 8 families.